

Message Text

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FM AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7803

INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA

AMEMBASSY GABORONE

AMEMBASSY KINSHASA

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

AMEMBASSY MASERU

AMEMBASSY MBABANE

AMEMBASSY NAIROBI

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN

AMCONSUL DURBAN

AMCONSUL LOURENCO MARQUES

AMCONSUL LUANDA

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

C O N F I D E N T I A L DAR ES SALAAM 0969

CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

E.O.11652: XGDS-2 DECLASS 1/1/99

TAGS: PFOR, TZ, RH, OAU

SUBJECT: OAU MEETING IN DAR ES SALAAM NEXT WEEK

REF: DAR ES SALAAM 0940 AND CAPE TOWN 378

1. SUMMARY: SENIOR FONMIN OFFICIAL BELIEVES "LUSAKA
MANIFESTO-MOGADISCIO DECLARATION" GROUP OF AFRICAN STATES

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WILL CARRY DAY AT OAU MEETING HERE NEXT WEEK. THESE STATES

BELIEVE, IN SUM, TALK IF YOU CAN, FIGHT IF YOU MUST. FINAL
OAU COMMUNIQUE FROM MEETING WILL DEMAND BEFORE RHODESIAN
NEGOTIATIONS CAN BEGIN AGAIN THAT SMITH RELEASE SITHOLE
AND AGREE TO ATTEND CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE. AFRICANS
WILL LOOK TO VORSTER TO CONVINCE SMITH ACCEPT THESE TWO
DEMANDS AS EARNESTS OF SMITH'S INTENTION TO ACCEPT ROUTE
OF NEGOTIATION OF RHODESIAN PROBLEMS. END SUMMARY.

2. IN MEETING WITH BERNARD MUGANDA, DIRECTOR, EUROPE-
AMERICAS DIVISION, FONMIN, APRIL 3 ON ANOTHER MATTER, DCM
ASKED IF MUGANDA HAD READ GRAHAM HOVEY'S COLUMN IN MARCH 27
ISSUE INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE. MUGANDA SAID HE HAD NOT
SO DCM GAVE HIM COPY. IN ENSUING DISCUSSION DCM NOTED
WOULD APPEAR DIFFICULT FOR VORSTER TO PUBLICLY ANNOUNCE
WITHDRAWAL SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE FROM RHODESIA BECAUSE
OF FEARED REACTION OF RIGHT WING OF HIS OWN PARTY. IN
ADDITION, VORSTER MAY BELIEVE THAT PUBLIC ANNOUNCEMENT OF
POLICE WITHDRAWAL MIGHT ENCOURAGE BLACK AFRICAN STATES AND
BLACK RHODESIANS THAT IT THEN NOT RPT NOT NECESSARY TO
NEGOTIATE WITH SMITH, BECAUSE THEY CAN GET WHAT THEY WANT
SIMPLY BY RENEWING GUERRILLA WARFARE. FURTHER, IT WOULD SEEM
THERE IS SOME VALIDITY TO HOVEY'S POINT IN HIS ARTICLE THAT
VORSTER LOOKING BEYOND RHODESIA TO DETENTE WITH BLACK AFRICA.
TO ACHIEVE SUCH NORMALIZATION RELATIONS VORSTER LIKELY
WILLING PAY HIGH PRICE. HENCE, AFRICAN LEADERS HAVE CONSIDERABLE
LEVERAGE WITH VORSTER. IF THEY REFUSE TO TALK WITH VORSTER
OR SEEK IMPOSE ON HIM IMPOSSIBLE CONDITIONS, HOWEVER, THEY WILL BE
MISSING OPPORTUNITY FOR NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT OF SOUTHERN
AFRICA PROBLEMS.

3. MUGANDA REPLIED AFRICAN NATIONS COULD BE DIVIDED INTO
FOUR GROUPINGS ON SOUTHERN AFRICA PROBLEM AS FOLLOWS:

- A. THOSE STATES SUCH AS GUINEA THAT OPPOSE ANY KIND
OF TALK WITH VORSTER OR SMITH AT ALL;
- B. THOSE STATES SUCH AS LIBERIA WHICH BELIEVE VORSTER
IS A REASONABLE MAN AND APARTHEID AS REPRESENTED BY
BANTUSTAN OR HOMELAND POLICY IS ACCEPTABLE;
- C. THE "TRADERS" SUCH AS MALAWI OR ZAIRE WHICH ARE PREPARED
TO CARRY ON COMMERCIAL RELATIONS WITH RHODESIA
OR SOUTH AFRICA IRRESPECTIVE OR THEIR POLITICAL-SOCIAL
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POLICIES; AND

D. THE LUSAKA MANIFESTO-MOGADISCIO DECLARATION GROUP.
TANZANIA IS IN THE LAST GROUP AND BELIEVES IT WILL HAVE
A FIRM MAJORITY AT NEXT WEEK'S OAU MEETING HERE. THIS
GROUP BELIEVES AFRICA MUST BE PREPARED TO GO TO CONSIDERABLE
LENGTHS TO FIND WAY TO NEGOTIATE SOUTHERN AFRICAN PROBLEMS,
BUT, IF NEGOTIATIONS FAIL, BLACK AFRICANS MUST BE PREPARED TO
FIGHT TO BRING EQUALITY TO SOUTHERN AFRICA. MUGANDA ADDED,

AFRICANS KNOW EQUALITY CANNOT BE LEGISLATED, BUT EQUAL ACCESS TO SCHOOLS, EQUAL PAY FOR EQUAL WORK, OR FAIR REPRESENTATION IN PARLIAMENT, THESE THINGS CAN BE ENACTED. IN THIS REGARD, TANZANIA BELIEVES VORSTER IS REASONABLE MAN, AS DOES PRESIDENT TOLBERT OF LIBERIA, BUT TANZANIA DOES NOT AND WILL NOT ACCEPT APARTHEID. THOSE WHO ARE FAR FROM PROBLEM CAN SAY, AS DOES SEKOU TOURE OF GUINEA, THAT ANY TALK WITH VORSTER, SMITH OR THEIR ILK IS DISLOYAL TO BLACK AFRICAN CAUSE. THEY DO NOT KNOW THE PROBLEM AS TANZANAINS HAVE WITH PORTUGUESE IN MOZAMBIQUE AND NOW ZAMBIANS DO IN RHODESIA. WHEN YOUR OWN PEOPLE ARE GETTING HURT OR BEING THREATENED, IT DOES NOT SEEM ODIOS TO TALK IF TALK IS POSSIBLE.

4. AT OAU MEETING NEXT WEEK TANZANIA WILL DISTRIBUTE PAPER WHICH OUTLINES POSITION OF LUSAKA MANIFESTO-MOGADISCIO DECLARATION GROUP. MUGANDA BELIEVES POSITION OUTLINED IN THIS PAPER WILL BE ADOPTED. SPECIFICALLY, FINAL COMMUNIQUE ON OAU MEETING WILL ASK THAT SMITH GIVE EVIDENCE THAT HE IS WILLING TO NEGOTIATE IN GOOD FAITH I.E. THAT HE RELEASE SITHOLE AND THAT HE AGREE TO ATTEND CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE. MUGANDA ADDED IN ASIDE THAT DATE FOR CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE HAD ALREADY BEEN AGREED, AND SHOULD HAVE BEEN HELD BY NOW, ONLY PLACE HAD NOT YET BEEN AGREED WHEN SITHOLE ARRESTED AND CHITEPO KILLED. IF SMITH AGREES THESE TWO DEMANDS, THEN RADICAL AFRICANS WILL BE MOLLIFIED AND NEGOTIATIONS CAN PROCEED APACE. AFRICANS WILL LOOK TO VORSTER FOR HELP IN GETTING SMITH TO ACCEPT THESE TWO CONDITIONS. CONCERNING NAMIBIA, TANZANIA AND OTHERS PREPARED TO WORK OUT MODUS VIVENDI WITH SOUTH AFRICA SO THAT DISCUSSION CAN GO FORWARD. INASMUCH AS SWAPO IS RECOGNIZED BY OAU AS LIBERATION FRONT REPRESENTING NAMIBIA, SOME MEANS WILL HAVE TO BE CONFIDENTIAL

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WORKED OUT TO HAVE SWAPO'S INTERESTS REFLECTED IN TALKS. MUGANDA SAID FINAL COMMUNIQUE WILL HAVE STATEMENTS DENOUNCING APARTHEID, WHICH SINCERE, AND CALLING FOR IMMEDIATE MAJORITY RULE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA, WHICH ALL RECOGNIZE IS UNREALISTIC. HE ADDED WRYLY THERE ALSO WILL BE USUAL CONDEMNATIONS OF COLONIALISM, NEO-COLONIALISM, IMPERIALISM, ETC.

5. ANGOLA WILL INEVITABLY BE TALKED ABOUT AT OAU MEETING WHICH UNFORTUNATE BECAUSE TANZANIA HAD HOPED KEEP FOCUS OF MEETING FULLY AND STRICTLY ON RHODESIA AND SOUTHERN AFRICA PROBLEM.

6. COMMENT: MUGANDA WAS VERY CONFIDENT TANZANIA WOULD THE DAY NEXT WEEK AT OAU MEETING HERE.

CARTER

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